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*The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, Comprising his Letters, Private and Official, his Public Documents, and his Speeches. Edited by his Grandson, CHARLES R. KING, M.D., LL.D. Vol. IV., 1801-1806. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1897. Pp. xxi, 599.)

THE fourth volume of the present work is full of valuable material and confirms an earlier impression that this collection is one of the most important select contributions yet made to the materials for the writing of American history. For some reason King seems to have drawn from his correspondents a peculiar quality of frankness, for no series of letters which have passed under our eyes contain such outspoken views on whatever they touch upon. The most curious tone observable throughout is that already commented upon in the review of the third volume. Throughout the work there is a note on the part of the Federalists of pessimism towards the future of democracy, and towards the capacity of the people for self-government, that is truly astonishing when it is borne in mind that at the moment when these letters were written the United States was almost the only country in the world at peace; that her people were growing rich by agriculture and commerce, that her national debt was being paid and her treasury overflowing. Thus the best that Ames can suggest is that "despair should not be confessed—still less circulated;" and he adds, "we are now in the Roland and Condorcet act of our Comedy. Whether we go on to Danton and Robespierre acts depends on time and accident." King himself asserts that he will not "despair of the public welfare, provided the judiciary is maintained." Hamilton "is in utter despair of the system!" and looks forward to "a serious commotion, and that at no very remote period!" adding elsewhere, "the prospects of our country are not brilliant." Sedgwick in explanation of his retirement says that he should "never have abandoned the government but from the most complete conviction that the people would make an experiment of democracy." Troup thinks he has said enough when he remarks, "things are according to the natural destiny of the government, and I see no reason to suppose that they will alter." And Jay writes that the present times teach us "the capital vanity of expecting that, from the Perfectability of human nature and the Lights of Philosophy, the Multitude will become virtuous and wise, or their Demagogues candid and honest." The dread of democracy is the recurrent note endlessly dwelt upon. "The aristocracy of virtue is destroyed; personal influence is at an end," groans Sedgwick. "Our system is just where it is by nature destined to be—in the hands of demagogues," is Troup's version of the same complaint. "The mass is far from sound," Hamilton asserts, and Gore predicts "deep misfortune" for "the rude and uncultivated minds of those who will soon have such a preponderating influence in our Federal politics." It is amusing to note the Federalist bewilderment over this condition, and over their own helplessness. The superiority "of the Federal Character, in Congress and the

Newspaper," is maintained by Cabot ; and again he recurs to this when he writes "there has never been a period when the Federal Cause was maintained with more good sense and dignity." None the less, Hamilton writes that "I as yet discover no satisfactory symptoms of the revolution of opinion in the *mass* ;" while John Quincy Adams goes so far as to say "the power of the administration rests upon a support of a much stronger majority of the people throughout the Union than the former administrations have possessed, since the first establishment of the Constitution," and of the Federal system he writes, "the experiment, such as it was, has failed ; and to attempt its restoration would be as absurd as to undertake the resurrection of a carcass seven years in its grave." The remedy for this unendurable peace and prosperity Ames finds in outside danger, and claims that "we need, as all nations do, the compression on the outside of our circle of the formidable neighbour—whose presence shall at all times excite stronger fears than demagogues can inspire the people with towards their government." Yet, bad as things seem to the Federalists, and puzzled as they are to imagine why the small intellectual classes should have been retired from power, they none the less recognize an occasional merit in the system ; as Troup, when he finds "a great source of consolation" to be that "the republican system" does "respect the rights of property ;" and Jay, though he considers that "if these are not upside down Times, they are certainly up and down Times," yet adds a side compliment to democracy and the masses when he writes that "Athens, the city of philosophy, and Rome, the city of everything, saw and felt much worse."

Turning from this curious psychological study of intellectual pessimism which constitutes the chief flavor of the work, there is much that is interesting. At the very time that the American officials, yclept demagogues, to whom the people had confided the government, were borrowing money on which to live during their term of office, and retiring from those offices poor men, and in some cases bankrupts, we find a picture of European stock-jobbing through international politics, in which the very greatest of the ministers were concerned, and out of which Talleyrand is said to have himself made two hundred thousand pounds in one transaction. Of King's negotiations in England, though probably no American minister has stood in such friendly relations with any particular government (except Franklin at the French court) he himself is forced to state that "they are often discouraging and sometimes disgusting ;" and when Monroe succeeded him the condition became even worse, the new minister taking pains to keep himself ignorant of all European conditions, and carefully avoiding official circles in England. This conduct, combined with the discomfort and mistreatment endured by Merry in America, were enough in themselves to create ill feeling between the two governments, and only serve again to show how important the personal relations of diplomatic agents come to be. In connection with Louisiana we find King asserting that the United States is "the first power in our own hemisphere." On impressment there is much, the most impor-

tant being King's conference with Lord St. Vincent, in which the astonishing statement is made by the former that the whole of British impressments at the time the conference was held (May 13, 1803) were not more than enough to "man a single ship." There is more that is interesting on the attempted slave colonization which grew out of the Virginia insurrection of 1801, and considerable in relation to the fast-and-loose conduct of Aaron Burr towards Federalists, Hamilton going so far as to say that "our friends in Congress" were "polluting themselves with the support of the second personage for the Presidency." Gore writes that the English government are particularly nervous over Fulton's diving machines and torpedoes, as well as over the rumor that he was constructing and using a boat that was designed "to work against the stream." Anent the press of the day we have the wail of Livingston, who complains that he is being called "a fool, a lunatic, a minion, and a great many other things equally well calculated to cure me of vanity, and to raise the reputation of the country which has for upwards of thirty years successively employed me in high and confidential offices."

As in the former volumes, the editorial labor is commendably done, and we note but one typographical error, aside from that corrected by an insert, the use of the name Warmely, at page 43; for Wormely.

PAUL LEICESTER FORD.

*The Life of Charles Jared Ingersoll.* By his Grandson, WILLIAM M. MEIGS. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1897. Pp. 351.)

THE subject of this admirable little biography was a remarkable man—an intense American, a true believer in the capacity of the people to rule themselves, an active participant in public affairs upon occasions between 1812 and 1849; an historian as well as a statesman, an orator as well as a lawyer; a man of marked eccentricities, but of bold and original views. His career is of general as well as special interest, for he was full of fire and aggressive force, and contributed in no small degree to the development of our national self-assertion and self-reliance at critical periods. At times impulsive and indiscreet, he was always salient and fearless. His talents were of a high order, and his exertions never failed to command attention.

Although it is more than thirty years since his death, and therefore all personal recollection of him has been largely lost, yet the perpetuation of his memory is a worthy object, and the author has accomplished with skill and judgment the difficult task of reviving interest in his career. The book displays research, care in statement, good temper, impartiality, and an agreeable style. It will attract even those unacquainted with Mr. Ingersoll's name. It is an interesting contribution to our biographical literature. It enlarges, too, the general knowledge of the part played by Pennsylvania in Congress in sustaining the War Party in 1812, and traces with some minuteness the growth of an American spirit in letters, as well as politics.